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H – 685

International Court of Justice

H0685-0002

Notice.

Not to be published until presented before the tribunal in open court and then only that portion actually submitted as evidence.

Ne pas publier avant présentation devant le tribunal en audience publique et seulement la partie réellement versée au dossier.

Nicht zu veroeffentlichen vor Darlegung vor dem Gericht (Tribunal) in oeffentlicher Sitzung und dann nur jenen Teil, welcher tatsaechlich zur Beweisfuehrung uebermittelt wurde.

Не публиковать до того, как представлено на публичном заседании Трибунала и только ту часть, которая представлена в качестве доказательства.

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I certify that none of the documents included herein have been denied by the Tribunal and that this document book has been examined with the prosecution in accordance with the ruling of the Tribunal dated 4 April 1946.

Je certife qu'aucun des documents ci-inclus n'a été contesté par le Tribunal, et que ce livre de documents a été examiné par le Minstére Public suivant les règles du Tribunal, en date du 4 Avril 1946.

Ich bestaetige, dass kine der hierin enthaltenen Dokumente vom Gerichtshof abgelehnt wurden und dass dieses Dokumentenbuch gemeinsam mit der Anklagevertretung durchgesehen wurde, in Uebereinstimmung mit der Entscheidung des Gerichtshofes vom 4 April 1946.

Signature of Counsel

Signature de l'Avocat

Unterschrift des Verteidigers.

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DOCUMENT BOOK II

(Documents 36 - 85
pages 116 - 188)

for the defense of the Defendant Franz von PAPEN.

Submitted by the Defense Counsel

Dr. Egon KUBUSCHOK.

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Von PAPEN Document 36.

Excerpt from the book

The Principles of National Socialism.

(Die Grundlagen des Nationalsozialismus).

A historical ideological treatise from a Catholic point of view.

by

Bishop DR. ALOIS HUDAL,

Rome

JOHANNES GUTENTHER Publishers, Leipzig and Vienna.

Page 17/18

. . . . . How valuable to take a few points only for instance, are the following items of the National Socialist programme: community racial surmounting dividing obstacles, language as the spiritual sphere of the nation, deep longing for a new German ideal of life, the consciousness of the German historical destiny, the unity with one's own race, the attempt to find a solution of the Jewish problem, anxiety for a racially healthy German rising generation, the destruction of the party system, the elimination of too strong a mixture of religion and politics, rearing of families, abundance of children as an honor and national pride, valour in order to defend the vital demands of the German policy against a Europe bristling with arms, self-sacrificing affirmation of the common destiny of all Germans, the conception of the Reich, the reorganisation of the educational system which is in preparation, the professional idea, the aristocratic leadership principle, settlement - and work camps, population policy, all this is the conservative thoughtendowment which must be included in the strong, propagandist forces of the movement. . . . . .

Page 19

. . . . . Thus the following book serves the clarification which, in a time of great obscurity of ideas and historical confusion must be welcomed by everybody who means well towards the German people and towards Christianity. . . . . .

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Von PAPEN Document 36.

Page 246/247

. . . . . The Reich German Catholics do not allow anybody to surpass them in their fidility to people and Reich and agree with the National Socialist revolution, because it sat in judgement on the era of individualistic separation and dissolution and was a denial of the eternal universal order, of the community of blood and destiny of the German people and of the national character. ..

Page 249/250

. . . . . Because Christianity is and must remain the vital source of power, even in the 20th century, a modern synthesis of Christian, social, and national ideas still remains the great aim, the realization of which would be truly worth the sweat of the noblest of the German people. .....

Page 256

. . . . . LORTZ, "National Socialism and Church" ("Nationalsozialismus und Kirche") supplement to his history of the Church, page 391: "For a long time National Socialism was considered anti-catholic,. But this opinion was only a disastrous misunderstanding: 1. Through ignorance of the active program of National Socialism, as it had already been laid down authentically since 1925 in Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" which was available to everybody; 2. by confusing the National Socialist fighting propaganda and certain "reformers" of a Germanic pagan or anti-cultural type who attach themselves to the National Socialist movement, with the nucleus of the movement; 3. by a certain confusion of the political Catholicism with a religious and spiritual idea. This misunderstanding has definitely been removed by the pastoral letter of the German bishops of Whitsuntide 1933 and by the Concordat of 1933 between the Holy See and the National Socialist government of Germany. ....."

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. . . . . LORTZ : " . . . . . ALTHOUGH THE DIVINE CHURCH WILL NEVER IDENTIFY HERSELF WITH ANY MOVEMENT, SHE CANNOT BUT GRATEFULLY WELCOME THIS POWERFUL ALLY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST GODLESS RATIONALISM." . . . . .

Filed June 12, 1946

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Von PAPEN Document 37

From: Franz Von PAPEN

"Appeal to the German Conscience"

Speeches on National Revolution

Copyright 1933 by Gerhard Stalling A.-G., Oldenburg i.O.

Vol. I, Page 59: "I will not give up my struggle for the powerful conservative forces of German Catholicism"

Vol II, Page 20-21: "Here lies the task, which first of all is also allotted to you to overcome the idea of class struggle through the real German and Catholic reconstruction of the German community!

Vol I, Page 38: "Both Christian denominations must carry jointly the work of renewal, I say it loudly and clearly - I have not decided in favour of a party when I stay here to-day - I fight in the front lines of the spiritual revolution in which we stand - fight with all of you against mechanization and collectivization of this life and for the religious and social renewal of our German people."

Vol. I Page 39: "My friends from Westphalia and particularly my Catholic peasants from the Muenster country with whom I feel so closely knit: you know that I would never lend my name and station to support a political movement out of which danger might threaten our holiest possessions. Just because I know that the moral renewal of our people is only to be attained if the Catholic part of the people which is so attached to its church and lives with it, has a decisive part in it; that is why I am in favor of German Catholics being incorporated into the front of national betterment in this decisive hour."

Vol. II, Page 104: "The young rising generation must be educated again in the basic truths of the Christian church and be steeled for the struggle for life.

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of Orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 38

Hitler's statement on the religious problem.

I. From: "Dokumente der Deutschen Politik."

Volume I, 1935.

Junker and Duennhaupt Publishers, Berlin.

Page 4

Proclamation of the Reich Government to the German people

1 February 1933

It will preserve and defend the foundation on which the strength of our nation rests. It will take under her strong protection christianity as a basis of our morality, the family as germ-cell of the body of our nation and state.

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Filed June 17, 1946

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of Orig.)

Van PAPEN Document 39

Excerpt

from

VOELKISCHER BEOBACHTER

Edition A/ South German edition

135 ed. 46 year

Munich, Monday 15 May 1933

Catholics in Chiemgau.

Trauenstein 14 May

..... On Sunday Cardinal V. Faulhaber celebrated a pontifical mass in the open with a sermon, in which he stated among other things: At the time of liberalism the right was that proclaimed everybody could be free and have the right to grasp at capitalistic enjoyment. Today we again hear the call from official places that the individual is to fit himself into the national whole. "We acknowledge ourselves as belonging to the community of nations and we rejoice in the change of mind."

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Filed June 17, 1946

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Von PAPEN Document 40

Decree of the Reich Chancellor

concerning the conclusion of the Concordat.

Excerpt from: SCHULTHESS's Calendar of European History

Edited by Ulrich THUERAUF
New Series. Fortyninth Year
74th Volume of complete Series. 1933.

C.H. BECK'SCHE Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich 1934.

8 July. The Reich Concordat is signed in Rome by Vice Chancellor von PAPEN and Secretary of State Cardinal PACELLI.

Simultaneously with the conclusion of the concordat, the Reich Chancellor issued the following decree: By the conclusion of the concordat between the Holy See and the German Reich Cabinet, it appears to me that sufficient guarantee is given that the Reich nationals of Roman-Catholic faith from now on will unreservedly place themselves at the service of the new National Socialist state. I therefore order:

1. The dissolutions of such Catholic organization which are recognized by the present treaty and the dissolution of which took place without directions from the government are to be rescinded at once.

2. Any measures of coercion against members of the clergy and other leaders of these Catholic organizations are to cease. A renewal of such measures is prohibited in the future and will be punished according to prevailing laws. I am happy in the belief that an era has now come to a close in which unfortunately far too often religious and political interests have become involved in apparently irreconcilable opposition. The treaty concluded between the Reich and the Catholic church will also in this field contribute to the restoration of peace which we all need. I entertain the strong hope that the settlement of the questions affecting the protestant faith will shortly bring this act of pacification to a happy conclusion." . . . . . .

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Filed June 17, 1946

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Von PAPEN Document 41

Telegram from Von PAPEN to HITLER upon the

Signing of the Reich Concordat.

Excerpt from: SCHULTHESS' Calendar of European History

Edited by Ulrich THUERAUF
New Series. Fortyninth year.
Volume 74 of the complete series. 1933.

C.H. BECK'SCHE Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich 1934

20 July. The Reich Concordat is signed in Rome.

Vice Chancellor von PAPEN sends the following telegram to the Reich Chancellor: I beg to announce the signing of the Reich Concordat which just took place, the text of which, in agreement with the Curia, will be published Saturday afternoon at 6 o'clock. Thanks to your generous, wise and sportsmanlike comprehension of the significant task of the Christian Church in the new structure of the Third Reich, an enterprise is now completed which will later be recognized as a historical deed of National Socialism. Only restoration of the Christian, national and social foundations will make it possible to defend occidental culture against all attacks, and Germany will be the unshakable foundation for this historical task. Signed: von PAPEN." . . . . . .

Telegram of Von PAPEN and of the Bishop of Trier

to HITLER of 24 July 1933.

Excerpt from: SCHULTHESS' Calendar of European History

Edited by Ulrich THUERAUF
New Series. Fortyninth year.
74th Volume of complete series. 1933.

C.H. BECK, Editor. Munich 1934.

. . . . . Von PAPEN and Bishop BORNEWASSER send the following telegram to Reich Chancellor HITLER: Today in Germany's oldest cathedral in Trier, the opening of the exhibition of the Holy Robe of Christ by His Eminence, the Cardinal of Cologne took place in my presence and in that of the representative of Prussia as well as that of all the State authorities. On the occasion of this event we assure the Fuehrer

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who is striving to restore the Christian, national and social foundations of the new state, of our steadfast cooperation in the reconstruction of the German Reich. Signed von PAPEN. Signed Dr. BORNEWASSER, Bishop of Trier." . . . . .

Filed June 19, 1946

Von PAPEN Document 42

Manifestoes in the Conclusion of the Concordat.

from: Voelkischer Beobachter, Tuesday, 25 July, 1933

Edition A / South-German Edition

The German Episcopate thanks the Fuehrer.

A Letter written by Cardinal BERTRAM on the subject of the Concordat.

Berlin, 24 July

Cardinal and Arch-Bishop BERTRAM, the Chairman of the Fulda Bishops' Conference, addressed the following communication to the Reich Chancellor:

"Esteemed Reich Chancellor:

The purpose of this letter is to express the appreciation and thanks of the lord Bishops gathered together at Fulda for the Bishops' assembly, on the occasion of the conclusion of the Reich Concordat.

At the earliest possible moment after completion of the political reorganization, made possible by your Excellency's declarations, and as evidenced by public manifestoes, the Episcopaty of all German dioceses expressed immediately its sincere and joyous readiness to cooperate to the best of its ability with the government now in power, which has established as guiding stars for its work

the granting of national education according to Christian principles; the battle against ungodliness and immorality; charitableness for the benefit of the common weal and the protection of the rights of the Church.

For the fact that the Reich Concordat embodies solemn expression and firm, clear basic principles for the realization of these high aims, permitting harmonious cooperation between Church and State, we owe thanks-next to the wisdom of the Holy See-to the statesman-like vision and to the energy of the Reich government.

With the expression of its deep and heartfelt thanks for the quick realization of this unison of the highest authorities, the Episcopaty associates the urgent desire for an equally deep-felt and sincere spirit of cooperation in execution and effect

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Filed June 19, 1946

Von PAPEN Document 42

so that the Church may be thereby enabled the better to apply victoriously - for the benefit of the nation and of our fatherland - the high forces of our sacred religion for the advancement in the faith in God, in morality and loyal obedience to the leading authorities.

With the expressions of my great esteem, Iam, Your Excellency,

sincerely yours,
(signed) A. Cardinal BERTRAM

from: Voelkischer Beobachter, Wednesday, 26 July 1933

Edition A / South-German Edition

"The Fuehrer's Secular Deed".

Academicans express their thanks to Adolf Hitler for the Reich Concordat.

Maria-Laach, July 25

On the occasion of its sociological special conference, the General Council of Catholic Academicians addressed to the Pope and to the Reich Chancellor Adolf HITLER telegrams expressing their thanks for the conclusion of the Reich Concordat. The telegram to the Fuehrer reads as follows:

"During yesterday's meeting in the Imperial Concept (Reichsidee) at the Benedictine Abbey at Maria-Laach, it was our privilege to learn from Vice-Chancellor, von PAPEN himself the fundamental thoughts embodied in the Concordat which has just been signed. The measure of generosity with which you, Mr. Reich Chancellor, asserted your influence for the benefit of a magnanimous settlement of relations between Church and State was revealed to us. We express our thanks, Mr. Reich Chancellor, for this secular deed, and we associate with it our promise to cooperate whole-heartedly in the reconstruction of a new Germany.

The General Council of the Association of Catholic Academicians, Kirnberger, Muench, Landmesser."

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Filed June 17, 1946

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v. PAPEN Document 43.

Affidavit
by
Rudolf Freiherr von TWICKEL.

In December 1945 the defense counsel for Mr. Franz von PAPEN approached me with the request to ask Cardinal von GALEN, whether he would consent to render a judgment regarding the former's clients political attitude towards the church. In the course of a meeting which I had about New Year 1946 with His Eminence Cardinal von GALEN he declared that:

he did not wish to appear personally in NUERNBERG, but that he was willing to make following or similar statements. When questioned by a commission: "It is my opinion that the defendant's activity at the time of the conclusion of the Concordate in 1933 originated from his positive Catholic attitude which he had demonstrated since 1921 in public and that he had not only the advantages for the state in mind at the conclusion of this treaty". The Cardinal further referred to the speech by the Pope of 2 June 1945 according to which the Concordate has offered a legal defense basis to the Catholic church.

Out of my own experience I wish to add, that:
in 1925, shortly after HINDENBURG's election as Reich President, Herr von PAPEN has told me that he had advised the "old man" to conclude a Concordate with the church.

I had repeated conversations with Herr von PAPEN concerning questions of church policy. I do not doubt the genuineness of his Christian Catholic conviction which he had displayed in his private as well as in his publich life.

MUENSTER, 4 May 1946 signed Rudolf, Freiherr von TWICKEL

I herewith certify thetabove signature of the landowner Rudolf Freiherr von TWICKEL, living at HAVIXBECK. The signature was executed in my presence

No 86 of Document register for 1946
MUENSTER, 4 May 1946

signed Dr. Werner REINEKe.

H0685 – 0025

Filed June 19, 1946

(Page 128
of orig.)

v. PAPEN Document 44

Statement by Prelate KAAS
after the Conclusion of the Concordate on
8 July 1933.

"To pave the way for the future of Germany was the goal of our work. May the unity of will, which will be Germany's strongest and invincible weapon, arise from the commom work. The "ADITUS AD PACUM" has been achieved. May the "PAX"itself be soon assured!

signed: Dr. Ludwig KAAS

So be it!

signed Dr. BUTTMANN

signed DIEGO VON BERGEN

signed Dr. STEINMANN

signed SAURMA

signed KURT BEHR

signed GERHARD WOLF

signed H.V. BOSE

signed E. KLEE"

H0685 – 0026

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 129
of orig.)

v. PAPEN Document 45

Exchange of Telegrams between HITLER and
HINDENBURG concerning the Pacification of the Protestant Church.

from: SCHULTHESS' Calendar of European History.
Published by ULRICH THUERAUF
New series: Fortyninth year.
74 Volume of entire series 1933.
C.H. BECK'SCHE Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich 1934.

13 July. Exchange of telegrams between HITLER and HINDENBURG.

Reich Chancellor HITLER sent following telegram to the Reich President at NEUDECK: Very esteemed Reich President! After having concluded the work on the constitution of the German Protestant church last Tuesday, the negotiations concerning the settlement of the conflict of the Prussian church were terminated in a manner satisfactory equally to both the state and the church. The inner freedom of the church which is especially close to my heart, is being placed beyond any doubt by the withdrawal of the commissioners and subcommissioners of the state. The inner reconstruction of the state churches will be brought toward a speedy conclusion according to church law by free elections. I am happy to be able to inform your Excellency that there is now some guarantee for an early realization of the pacification of Protestant church life, so much desired by you as well as by me and all people concerned. With respectful devotion yours signed: Adolf HITLER, Reich Chancellor

Reich President von HINDENBURG's reply: "I read with great pleasure in your wire that the work on the constitution of the German Protestant Chruch has been completed and that the conflict of the church in Prussia has been settled. I express very heartfelt thanks to you as well as to Reich Minister of the Interior Dr. FRICK for this successful achievement for the revival of peace within Protestant church life. With friendly regards, signed v. HINDENBURG, Reich President.

H0685 - 0027

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 130 of Orig.) von PAPEN Document 47

Affidavit

of Roderich Count THUN.

I am aware of the penal importance of an affidavit. Furthermore I know that the affidavit below is destined to be submitted to the International Military Tribunal in Nuernberg.

I, the undersigned, Count Roderich THUN, from Gettingen on the Mindel, state the following in lieu of oath.

I was Manager of the "Industrial Association of Catholic Germans" from their foundation in October 1933 till their dissolution on 1934. The reason for the foundation of this organization with the principal of the co-operation then Vice-Chancellor von PAPEN, was the defense of Catholic interests, necessitated by the political developments. In practice, therefore its principal sphere of activity became to determine to what extent Catholic interests were endangered or harmed. These very numerous cases were brought to the attention of the management through the subordinate offices of the "Industrial Association of Catholic Germans" and were handed over collectively to Herr von PAPEN for intervention with the competent Reich authorities, particularly HITLER and HESS.

I can state that the number of these intervention was so great that Herr von PAPEN always took a special list to the respective discussions, a list concerning the most important and most acute cases.

He has - as I can show by the following explanation - used his influence most energetically in order to put an end to the alleged deficiencies.

The "Industrial Association of Catholic Germans" was a political asso- to look after the interests of the Catholic portion of the nation. Up to the forces dissolution of political parties, Catholic interests had been looked after within the frame-work of the parties, thus through the Centre and the Catholic Committee

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H0685-0029

of the National German People's Party. We now represented political interests of the Catholics within the frame-work of the "Industrial Association of Catholic Germans", the only possible type of organization at that time. The "Industrial Association of Catholic Germans" was, therefore, a political but by no means a religious or ecclesiastical institution, which would have been subject to the Concordat.

On the 30th of June 1934 the office of the "Industrial Association of Catholic Germans" was occupied by the Gestapo, the files were confiscated and taken away; I myself was arrested.

Of itself this measure did not find us quite unprepared, as already some time previously a confident of HITLER, Captain von PFEFFER, who had been appointed to watch the "Industrial Association of Catholic Germans" had declared repeatedly that the "Industrial Association of Catholic Germens" was becoming increasingly suspected by the Party Offices on account of its activities; and that/ in particular the personality of Herr von PAPEN as head of the organization became increasingly disadvantageous, as Herr von PAPEN was regarded by the Party Offices in question as more and more undesirable.

Even after by release which was effected after a time, the confiscated files were not returned. In view of the attitude taken up by the Party Offices, a revival of or any further activity on the part of the organization could not be considered. Furthermore, any further practical activity of the "Industrial Association of Catholic Germans" could no longer be possible, as the only person, who could undertake the current interventions, Herr von PAPEN, having moved to Vienna, was out of the picture. The only question which remained for the management was how to terminate their activities officially. In so doing it had to be taken into consideration that in the event of an official compulsory dissolution

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the large number of Catholics, who had distinguished themselves through their work for the organization would be persecuted. In order to prevent this, the dissolution was pronounced by the management of the Industrial Association of Catholic Germans. This pronouncement was in accordance with its declaratory nature as described above, as due to forced measures, the dissolution had actually already taken place three months previously. In order to do everything possible to maintain Catholic interests, they did not neglect to point out again in this pronouncement that official authorities above all HITLER himself, had solemnly vowed to protect Christian and ecclesiastical interests.

Nuernberg, 18 April 1946

signed: Dr. ROBERT GRAF THUN

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 133
of original)

v. PAPEN Document 48.

ALLOCUTION OF HIS HOLINESS

POPE PIUS XII

TO THE SACRED COLLEGE

2 June 1945.

. . . . . It must, however, be recognized that the Concordat, in the years that followed, brought some advantages, or at least prevented worse evils. In fact, in spite of all the violations to which it was subjected, it gave Catholics a juridicial basis for their defense, a stronghold behind which to shield themselves in their opposition - as long as this was possible - to the ever growing campaign of religious persecution. . . .

H0685-0031

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 134
of Orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 49

Excerpt from 116 PS - USA - Exh. 685

Copy

The Deputy of the Fuehrer

Munich, 24 January 1939
III D-Es
3230/0/15 - 4278 Secret

SECRET

To the Reich Minister for Science
Education and Popular Education.

Attention Regierungsrat JAHNERT
- or representative in the Office. -

Berlin W 8
Unter den Linden 69

Subject: Theological Faculties.

In regard to your letter of 28 Nov 38 Office Chief W and the conference between Staatsminister Dr. WACKER and my expert, Party Member WEMMER, I would like to inform you again briefly of the stand, the party is taking.

Fundamentally, theological research can not be placed on the same footing as the general fields of Science in the universities as it represents less a free field of Science then a religious aim of research. No doubts exist for this if the theological faculties in the German Higher Schools (Hochschulen) are considerably restricted.

In this case, as you have likewise pointed out in your letter, the clause of the Concordat and the Church Treaties are to be taken into consideration. In the case of certain faculties which are not mentioned by a specific clause in the Concordat and Church Treaties, as for example Munich and a few others, a removal can be begun without further ado. This is equally true of the theological faculties in Austria ("Ostmark") Vienna and Graz. . . . .

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Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 135
of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 50

- 1 -

Excerpt
from

Wiener Neueste Nachrichten

Tuesday, 29 March 1938
Page 5

The facsimile of the original document of the Bishops.

The avowal of the Churches as belonging to Germany

As we have already reported in Monday's issue, the Austrian bishops have issued two manifestoes in which they acknowledge that they belong to greater Germany. We now reproduce the original documents including the letter with which Cardinal Dr. INNITZER forwarded the manifestoes to the Fuehrer's deputy for the plebiscite, Gauleiter BUERKEL. This letter reads as follows:

Much esteemed Herr Gauleiter! I am sending the enclosed manifesto by the bishops. You will see therefrom that we bishops have done our national duty voluntarily and without compulsion. I know that this manifesto will be followed by worthy cooperation.

With the expression of my esteem
and Heil Hitler!

signed Th. Card. INNITZER
Archbishop

The Seal
of the Archbishop of Vienna

Vienna, 18 March 1938

Much esteemed Herr Gauleiter.

I endorse herewith the manifesto of the bishops. You will see therefrom that the bishops have fulfilled their national duty voluntarily by worthy cooperation.

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with the expression of my esteem

and Heil Hitler!

signed Th. Kard. INNITZER
Archbishop.

Preface to the solemn manifesto of the Austrian bishops in the affair of the plebiscite. We the Austrian bishops, after exhaustive deliberations, in view of the great historical times through which the Austrian peoples have lived, and aware that in these days the thousand years old longing of our people for union with a great German Reich will find its fulfilment, have decided to make the following appeal to all our faithful.

We can do this all the more unconcernedly as the Fuehrer's representative for the plebiscite in Austria, Gauleiter BURCKEL had made known the straightforward trend of his policy, which should take as its motto: "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's."

Vienna, 21 March 1938

For the Diocese of Vienna

signed Th. Card. INNITZER
Archbishop

For the Diocese of Salzburg

signed S. WAITS

Prince - Archbishop.

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v. PAPEN Document 50

Solemn Manifesto:

We the undersigned bishops of the Austrian Dioceses declare with the sincerest convinction and of our own free will on the occasion of the great historical events in German-Austria:

We gladly recognize that the National Socialist movement has achieved and is achieving great things in the sphere of national and economic reconstruction, as well as in social policy for the German Reich and people and especially for the poorest classes of the nation. We are also convinced that the danger of the all-destroying and godless Bolshevism would be averted through the efforts of the National-Socialist movement.

The bishops are accompanying this activity for the future by their sincerest good wishes, and will also exhort the faithful in this sense.

On the day of the plebiscite it is the obvious national duty for us bishops to admit ourselves to be Germans belonging to the Reich, and we also expect that all devout Christians will realize what they owe to their nation.

Vienna, 18 March 1946

signed: Th.Card. INNITZER Archbishop

signed: S. WAITZ Prince Archbishop

signed: Johannes Maria GFOELLNER

signed: Adam HEFTER Prince Bishop

signed: Ferd. PAWLIKOWSKI Archbishop

signed: Michael MEMELAUER

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Filed June 18

Von PAPEN Document 51

Excerpt from L 221 - USA Exh. 317

Fuehrer's Headquarters, 16 July 1941

Bo/Fu./

TOP SECRET.

Memorandum for the files.

By order of the Fuehrer, a conference took place today with him at 1500 hours with Reichsleiter ROSENBERG, Reich Minister LAMMERS, Field Marshal KEITEL, with the Reich Marshal and with me.

The conference began at 1500 hours and lasted until about 2000 hours with a break for coffee. . . . . .

. . . . . (Incidental remark): The Fuehrer emphasizes that activities on the part of the churches are out of the question. PAPEN already sent him via the foreign office a long memorandum in which it was asserted now was the right moment to reintroduce the churches; but this was completely out of the question.)..

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 139 of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 52

Affirmation in lieu of oath.

I know the significance of an affirmation in lieu of oath, I realize in particular that it is punishable to give a false affirmation in lieu of oath. I also know that my affirmation in lieu of oath below is to be submitted to the International Military Tribunal in Nuernborg. I, the undersigned, Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey Gruessau in Silesia, Friedrich Albert SCHMITT, now residing in Hemsbach near Osterburken in Baden, state the following in lieu of oath:

I have known the former Reich Chancellor Franz von PAPEN since 1925. During this period I met him often at Catholic meetings as well as privately, the last time in the Fall of 1939. During this time a very close confidential relationship developped between us. He therefore expressed himself very frankly on his personal attitude to the acute questions of the day. Furthermore we also discussed all questions which were on his mind, and I therefore feel entitled to judge his personality clearly.

According to my firm conviction Herr von PAPEN is a convinced Catholic who has lived his always very obvious Catholic life certainly from a purely inner conviction and not from practical reasons. He took an active part in all Catholic questions which arose.

Soon after the signing of the Concordat when the disloyal attitude of the German government became apparent, Herr von PAPEN was most deeply moved and he always discussed with me in detail his great anxiety in this respect as well as pondering ways and means of meeting these violations. I can also testify from my own personal experience that he worked actively in the interest of the Church for the loyal observance of the Concordat.

Furthermore I do not wish to omit mentioning that during the first period after the conclusion of the Concordat when he mentioned his anxiety in this connection, Herr von PAPEN told me he still had no clear picture of HITLER's attitude. He was forced to note time and again that radical anti-church members of the Party were using their influence to block any chance arriving at a reasonable solution.

H0685-0037

H0685-0038

At any rate, knowing Herr Von PAPEN personally as well as his continual intercession in favor of the Catholic cause, I can express my firm conviction, that Herr von PAPEN contributed with the most loyal purpose to the conclusion of the Concordat, that he disapproved most strongly of the violations committed by the government against the stipulations of the Concordat and that he opposed them as much as was within his power.

While absolutely frank conversations with Herr von PAPEN had already convinced me that he was an opponent of any power politics, particularly those in connection with Foreign policy, I found this impression confirmed especially on the occasion of our last meeting in the fall of 1939. At that time - even under the influence of the German victory in Poland - he openly declared the he considered the outbreak of war an enormous disaster.

Hemsbach, 19 April 1946

(signed) Friedrich Albert SCHMITT
Abbot of Gruessau

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Filed June 18

(Page 141
of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 53

Affirmation in lieu of oath of P.H. KLEIN S.I., Curatus at St. Clemens.

Catholic Pastorate
St. Clemens
Berlin S.W. II
Saarlandstrasse 66.

On 1 March 1943 the Catholic church of St. Clemens in Berlin, Stresemannstrasse 66 was requisitioned for furniture storage by the city of Berlin upon the instigation of the Chief of the SS Office W VII SS Obersturmbannfuehrer MISCH.

Whereupon the then ambassador in Ankara, Herr Franz von PAPEN submitted an energetic protest to the Berlin Gauleiter GOEBBELS, bringing about an order that not alone St. Clemens church was once again to be released for church services, but that in the future no church was to be requisitioned for the storage of the furniture of bombed out persons.

I assert in lieu of oath that this statement is true.

Berlin Stresemannstrasse 66
30 January 1946

(signed) P.H. KLEIN S.I.
Curatus at St. Clemens

(Page 1-2 of orig.)

Filed June 14

55

Von PAPEN Document 9

From:

Schulthess'
Calendar of European History

Edited by Ulrich THUERAUF
New series. Forty eighth year.
Vol. 73 of the complete series.
1932
C.H. BECK, publishing office
Munich 1933

September 27th, Reich Chancellor von PAPEN replies to Herriot

The Reich Chancellor receives the editor in chief of the "WTB", who asks him whether he saw in the Sunday speech of the French Minister President (cf. p. 302 et seq.) any help for the disarmament discussion. The Reich Chancellor replies: I am sorry I must deny this. I can see therin only a new obstacle to any understanding, and a confirmation of the entirely negative attitude of the French note of Sept. 1st. This is not surprising for when M. HERRIOT, who in Geneva had declared himself ready for diplomatic negotiations during the conference, made public our first step toward the initiation of such negotiations before he even had replied to us, and involved a large number of third party States in the German suggestion without first asking for our consent, as loyalty or at least courtesy demanded then it was already clear that France did not wish to come to any agreement. I therefore declare: It is not a question of German rearmaments, but of the redeening of the disarmament promise of the other Powers. There is no question of German rearmament, but of German equality of rights and of the same treatment at the Disarmament Conference. The Disarmament Conference was called together and opened without any reservation concerning German equality. Germany was admitted six years ago into the League of Nations without reservation as to her equality of rights, and even in Versailles, when the victorious Powers did not shrink from imposing unheard of conditions upon Germany, nobody dared to require the permanent disqualification of Germany in military matters. Now the development during the last ten years, which tended towards the regularisation of inter-State relations is to be reversed and the status of a people with lesser rights is to be imposed upon Germany. We of course cannot accept this.... We naturally ask that the disarmament convention, for which the world has had to wait for so long be applicable to as as it is to all other states. Our practical

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claims, which quite unjustly are looked upon with suspicion as rearmament, only mean that we - of course within the limits of the convention - demand the same freedom to adapt our armaments to our social and national needs which belongs to any other State. We have offered to negotiate as to the kind and extent of this adaptation. We further demand that we be measured as to armament factors with the same yardstick as are others. In Versailles the theory was held that certain weapons, which at that time were denied us, were weapons of aggression. Today they are to be declared defensive weapons, but, as before, we are to be denied the right to use them, thus theoretically refusing us equality of rights and practically restricting the right of self-defence. But nobody has been able or has intended to deny us the right of self-defence - not even M. Herriot. That we may exercise this basic right of all nations, therein culminate our claims, which are made, not only by the Ministers responsible for the country's defence, but unanimously by the entire Reich Cabinet. We have never requested the right arm ourselves to the same extent that France and other nations do. We strive for equality of armament through the lowering of the general armament level.

. . . . . Only equality of armament and equal treatment can lead to the easing of the strain between nations for which we are all striving. It is the foundation of peace and of that moral disarmament which is so often discussed.

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 144 - complete)

Von PAPEN Doc. 56

Excerpt

from the

VOELKISCHER BEOBACHTER

Edition A/ South German Edition

22nd edition. 47th year

Munich, Monday, January 22nd, 1934.

Vice Chancellor von PAPEN speaks at KOTTBUS

KOTTBUS, January 21st.

At one of the celebrations of the foundation of the Reich, organized by the NSDAP and the KOTTBUS district group of the Steel Helmets (Stahlhelm) Vice Chancellor von PAPEN spoke on Saturday afternoon. .....

We wish to make the Third Reich into a sponsor of European peace, because we know that the frightful social tension weighing so heavily on all countries can only be eased by peaceful constructive work. A new war would be the collapse of all Occidental culture. . . . .

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Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 145 of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 59

Excerpt from

Schuthess' Calendar of European History

Published by Ulrich Thuerauf

New Series. 50th Year

75th Volume of the whole Series 1934.

C.H. Beck Book Publishers.

Munich 1935

1 January. New Year's Demonstrations.

Page 5.

. . . . Vice-Chancellor v. PAPEN publishes an article in the "Berliner Boersenzeitung" about FRANCO-GERMAN relations, which he designated as the "basic problem of the European situation." Among other things he states the the following on the subject: At the turning point of a new period we want to terminate the centuryold struggle with France. In the question of security we are ready to give all the desired guarantees. Between our countries there is a bread, demilitarized zone, and no fortifications of any kind protects the German Western border or makes possible in the future any military operation against our neighbours in the West. We understand if France wants a strong armament, and we have no objections in her maintaining this strong armament and its wall of fantastic border positions. The only thing we demand is the small measure of relative security which we require ourselves, just as every sovereign state. But there is still another point to be settled between us, without which Franco-German peace can never be final and upright: the SAAR QUESTION. The Saar territory is a remainder of the spirit of that imperialist policy, which filled the peace treaties of 1919. This policy must be decisively and finally terminated, if peace is desired. It therefore would be short-sighted to attempt at present to bring about the Franco-German settlement by an agreement in the armament question, if within a year a bitter plebiscite battle for the Saar territory is to be started. We Germans cannot wish more longingly for anything than to prove to the whole world by a plebisci that this country is German and that it strives with all the fibers of its heart to return to the mother-country. We truly do not

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H0685-0044

have to fear this plebiscite. But why postpone this unsettled condition and the termination of the tensions ariding from it for still another year? We are ready to allow the plebiscite to take place tomorrow if France wishes world history to take notice in this way of the mistakes of its imperialist policy. No government which seriously means to establish peace should therefore hesitate to tackle the problem immediately. The economic questions of this territory lying on the border of France can and must be solved in a way which will serve the interests of both nations. This would be a true policyyof peace.

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 147
of orig.)

v. PAPEN Document 60

Excerpt from:

"Dokumente der deutschen Politik"

Volume I

1935

JUNKER and DUENNHAUPT Publishers/Berlin.

Page 106

Proclamation of the Fuehrer upon Germany's resignation from the League of Nations.

14 October 1933.

To the German People!

Filled by the sincere wish to carry out the work of peaceful internal reconstruction of our people, of their political and economic life, German governments at one time declared themselves prepared with confidence in the concession of a worthy equality to enter the League of Nations and to participate in the disarmament conference.

In this respect Germany was bitterly disappointed.

In spite of our readiness to continue the already accomplished German disarmament at any time to the last consequence, if necessary, other governments could not bring themselves to decide to make good the assurances signed by them in the peace treaty.

By the conscious refusal of a real moral and objective equality of Germany the German people and its governments were again and again humiliated to the utmost.

After the Reich government recently had declared itself prepared to participate again in the negotiations of the disarmament conference after German equality was expressively established on 11 December 1932, the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs and our delegates were then informed by official representatives of the other states in public speeches and direct statements, that the present Germany could no longer be granted this equality today.

As the German Reich government regards this procedure both an unjust and an unworthy discrimination against the German people, it considers itself unable, as a second-rate nation without rights, to continue to participate any longer in negotiations, which thereby could lead only to new dictates.

H0685 – 0045

H0685-0046

v.PAPEN Document 60.

Manifesting again its firm will for peace the German Reich Government declares in view of these humiliating and dishonorable imputations that, to its deepest regret, it sees itself forced to leave the disarmament conference. Therefore, it also has to announce its withdrawal from the League of Nations.

It puts this decision, connected with a new avowal for a policy of a sincere love of peace and readiness for agreement, before the German people for them to take their attitude, and it expects of them a manifestation of the same love and readiness for peace, moreover also of the same conception of honor and of the same determination.

As Chancellor of the German Reich I have therefore proposed to the Reich President to present this policy of the Reich Government to the nation for a plebiscite, for the purpose of a visible expression of the united will of government and people, and to dissolve the German Reichstag, in order to give the German people the opportunity thereby, to elect those representatives who, as sworn representatives of this policy of peace and honesty, are able to give to the people the guarantee of a firm representation of their interests in this sense.

As Chancellor of the German people and as leader of the National Socialist movement I am convinced that the whole nation will, united like one man, back up an avowal and a decision which result as much from our love for our people and from our respect for its honor as from the conviction that the final pacification of the world which is so necessary for everybody can be obtained only, if the conceptions of winners and loosers will be succeeded by the nobler conception of the same rights of all to life.

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 149
of orig.)

v. PAPEN Document 61

Excerpt from:

"Dokumente der deutschen Politik"
Volume 1
1935
JUNKER and DUENNHAUPT Publishers / Berlin.

Page 107

Proclamation of the Reich Government to the German people!
14 October 1933.

The German Reich Government and the German people are united in the will to pursue a policy of peace, of reconciliation, and of mutual agreement, as a basis for all decisions and for each action.

The German Reich Government and the German people therefore reject force as an unsuitable means for the removal of existing differences within the European community of nations.

The German Reich Government and the German people renew with joy the avowal of agreement to every actual disarmament of the world, with the assurance of readiness to destroy even the last German machine gun and to dismiss the last man from the army, to the extent that the other nations decide to do the same.

The German Reich Government and the German people are joined in the sincere wish of wanting to examine and solve all problems in question without passion by means of negotiations, together with the other nations including all our former enemies, in the sense of overcoming war psychosis, and finally for the reestablishment of sincere relations with each other.

The German Reich Government and the German people therefore declare they are ready at any time to assure the peace of Europe for a long time to come by the conclusion of continental non-aggression pacts, to serve its economic welfare, and to participate in general cultural reconstruction.

The German Reich Government and the German people are filled with the same conception of honor that the granting of equality of rights for Germany is the unavoidable moral and objective pre-supposition for any participation by our people and their government in international institutions and treaties.

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Filed June 17, 1946

v. PAPEN Document 61

The German Reich Government and the German people are therefore united in the decision to leave the disarmament conference and to resign from the League of Nations, until this real equality of rights will no longer be withheld from our people.

The German Reich Government and the German people are determined to prefer to assume any misery, any persecution, and any hardship rather than to sign treaties in the future which are simply unacceptable for any gentleman and for any honorloving people, and which would in their consequences only lead to a perpetuation of the misery and of the distress of condition under the Versailles Treaty and thereby to the collapse of the community of civilized nations.

The German Reich Government and the German people do not have the desire to take part in any armament race of other nations, they request only that extent of security which guarantees the calm and liberty of peaceful work for the nation. The German Reich Government and the German people are willing to assure these justified requests of the German nation by means of negotiations and by treaties.

The Reich Government puts the following question to the German people: Does the German people approve of the policy of its Reich Government here presented to it and is it ready to announce this policy as the expression of its own attitude and to embrace this policy solemnly?

Berlin, 14 October 1933.

The Reich Government.

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Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 151
of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 62

Excerpt from

"Dokumente der deutschen Politik"

Volume I

1935

JUNKER and DUENHAUPT Verlag / Berlin.

Page 139

HINDENBURG's proclamation for the election on 11 Novmeber 1933.

German men! German women!

Allow me to address you with a few words of warning in this hour when vital questions of present day and future Germany are to be decided.

I and the Reich Cabinet, united in the will to raise Germany from the condition of dismemberment and weakness of the post-war years, have called upon the German people to decide for themselves tomorrow about their fate and to testify to the entire world whether they approve of the policy we have chosen and whether they will adopt it as their own cause.

Long years of weakening disunity are behind us. Thanks to the brave, systematic and powerful leadership of the Reich Chancellor HITLER whom I have appointed on 30 January of this year, and that of his co-workers, Germany has found herself again and gained the strength to start on the road which is prescribed for her by her national honor and by her future. For the first time in many years of disunity, the German nation shall face the whole world tomorrow as a close unity, united in the manifestation of its will for peace, but also united in its demand for honor, equality of and respect from the others rights. Work and reconstruction within, peace, honor and equality of rights without, these are the pillars upon which Germany will firmly construct her national existence. We want to preserve our honor. but we also wish and hope for a real peace. It is a lie and defamation if they impute as abroad of having belligerent intentions. Nobody in Germany feels any desire for settling differences by force. Whoever experienced the horrors of war himself in three wars as I have, will not wish another new war and will regard the maintenance of peace as his solemn obligation towards the German people and towards the whole world. The Reich Cabinet through its Reich Chancellor has solemnly assured the other nations that we sincerely wish for mutual understanding, he

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H0685 - 0050

that we sincerely wish for mutual understanding; he has often stated our readiness to agree with pleasure on the effective disarmament of the entire world and also has declared his willingness for complete disarmament as long as the other countries should decide on the same step. With all our heart we want peace, but a peace with honor and equality of rights. We have left the disarmament conference and the League of Nations not as a demonstration against the idea of peaceful understanding among the nations, but to demonstrate to the world that the hitherto existing method of distinction between the victors and the vanquished, between armed and disarmed countries, between free and enslaved nations cannot continue to exist and to demonstrate that real understanding and true peace is solely possible on the foundation of equality of rights.

To you, German fellow citizens the appeal has gone to declare yourselves for this, our new policy of honor and peace. To-morrow the entire German nation shall profess its unity in the consciousness of national honor, in the demand for equal right and at the same time for a true, real and enduring peace. United in their will the German people shall to-morrow loudly and impressively manifest that never more in the future shall Germany be treated as a second class nation.

Therefore I am directing an appeal to the German men and women in this hour: Together demonstrate your national unity and your alliance with the Reich Cabinet to-morrow. Profess yourself together with me and the Reich Chancellor to the basic principle of equality of right and to peace in honor and show to the world that we have won back the German Unity which we will retain with the help of God !

(Page 153 (155)
of orig.)

V. PAPEN Document 63

Excerpt

from

THE STARS AND STRIPES

Volume 2, Number 85

Wednesday, March 27, 1946

PAPEN Proposed Armies Unite to Ward Off Reds.

Earle Doubts HITLER Knew of Feelers.

Philidelphia, March 26 (U.)

- Franz von PAPEN former Nazi vice-chancellor, made peace overtures to the Allies in 1944, offering the surrender of all German armed forces on condition that a joint German-Allied army be maintained on the Eastern front to hold off the forces of the Soviet Union, it was disclosed today.

Details of the peace offer were revealed by George H. EARLE, former American minister to Bulgaria and Turkey. The offer followed an earlier peace feeler by PAPEN through EARLE in 1943.

EARLE who arrived in the U.S. Saturday with his 23-year-old Belgian bride of three months, said both peace feelers apparently had been made without the knowledge or consent of Adolf HITLER.

SEEN AS PAPEN DEFENSE

PAPEN, a defendant at the international war-crimes trial at Nuernberg, is expected to base his defense in part on the talks with EARLE in Turkey.

The most serious peace offer, EARLE revealed, was made in March, 1944, through a neutral diplomat and a man identified as Baron Kurt Freiherr von LERSNER, German charge d'affaires in Washington in 1917 before the U.S. entered World War I. The offer called for surrender of all German armed forces.

The Allies would receive a free hand with German leaders, according to the offer on one condition - that the German army be maintained intact and concentrated on the Eastern front to prevent Russian infiltration into

H0685-0051

H0685-0052

East Prussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans.

REFUSED TO FLY TO REICH.

The offer of a neutral diplomat to have EARLE flown to Germany to "arrange details" was turned down, EARLE said, because "only Gen. EISENHOWER was permitted to discuss or accept terms of surrender from the Germans."

EARLE said he had told the late President ROOSEVELT of the surrender offer but had received no instructions to proceed further.

EARLE said an earlier peace feeler had been made to him in May, 1943, when he was naval attache and reporting directly to Mr. ROOSEVELT on the Balkan situation, but that nothing had come of it.

H0685-0053

(Page 157
of orig,)

Filed June 17, 1946

Von PAPEN Document 64

From:

Schulthess'

Calender of European History

Published by Ulrich THUERAUF, New Series

Forty Ninth Year.

74th Volume of the entire series

C.H. BECK'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung

Munich 1934

27 March: The Bundesfuehrer of the Heimwehr Prince STARHEMBERG demands in his appeal ....

The closest national Unity of the entire German people must be established under all circumstances. The German Nationalism in Austria should never be separated from German nationalism as a whole ....

H0685-0054

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 158
of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 65

From

Schulthess'
European Calendar of History

Published by Ulrich THUERAUF
New Series. 50th Consec. Year
Vol. 75 of the whole series

1934
C.H. BECK Book Publishing Agency
Munich 1935

8 August. Appointment of v. PAPEN as Ambassador to Vienna.

Now that the Austrian government has granted its consent (Agrement), the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor HITLER hands to Ambassador v. PAPEN the documents still completed by the deceased Reich President relieving him from his office as Reich Minister and Deputy of the Reich Chancellor as well as appointing him as extraordinary Ambassador and Plenipotentiary Minister on special mission to Vienna. In a statement transmitted to "Reuter" and the "Associated Press" v. PAPEN states, among other things: The last signature of Field Marshal v. HINDENBURG who has gone into eternity was placed under a communication to me, which states: "If I send you to Vienna now as the diplomatic representative of the Reich, then it is with the sincere hope that you may succeed in establishing normal and hearty relations with the Austrian people which is akin to us. My best wishes accompany you in the execution of this responsible task." This order at the same time is a legacy to which nothing need be added.

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 159
of original)

Von PAPEN Document 66
2247 PS - USA Exh. 64

Report by Von PAPEN to Adolf HITLER on 17 May 1935.

Copy:

The Envoy Extraordinary and

Minister Plenipotentiary

on Special Mission

at present Berlin W 9, 17 May 1935

Lennestrasse 9.

My Fuehrer:

Because of the necessity of sparing your voice for Tuesday, I would consider it immodest to ask you these days for another conference concerning the Austria problem. I therefore want to limit myself to a presentation to you in brief statements of the present situation and a demonstration of the necessity for a decision, with the request to forward a decision to me.

The news which I communicated to you day before yesterday that the Austrian Government would proclaim its intention to rearm through an autonomous act and simultaneously on 2 June would announce a STARHEMBERG regency, becomes more and more likely. The parades of the Home Guard (Heimatschutzes) and all milita formations arranged for 2 June, are being publicized through the press. It is reported confidentially that parades by farmers are contemplated. Herr von HASSELL has reported concerning his conversation with MUSSOLINI that, since the Habsburg question could not be solved because of the opposition of the Little Entente, "Austria would rightly be satisfied with a monarchist restoration, even if not that of the Habsburgs, and perhaps that she will at first introduce a regency a la HORTHY".

A complete dictatorship by the Heimwehr under STARHEMBERG would mean the total strangulation of all pro-German tendencies, would cleanse the governmental apparatus further in this respect, and above all would attempt to estrange the army from German connections. It is certainly questionable how far such a regime could be successful in the long run, but in view of the sphathy of large circles and the poor economic situation,

H0685-0055

H0685-0056

Von PAPEN Document 66
2247 PS - USA Exh. 64

Report by Von PAPEN to Adolf HITLER on 17 May 1935.

C o p y:

The Envoy Extraordinary and

Minister Plenipotentiary

on Special Mission

at present Berlin W 9, 17 May 1935

Lennestrasse 9.

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H0685-0057

As well as the impossibility of getting financial help from the Reich it will certainly stay alive for a number of years. MUSSOLINI would thus have achieved what he could obviously not achieve by the Danube pact. The Little Entente would be satisfied because the German possibilities of influence are definitely pushed back without the existence of any danger of an Italian invasion into Austria.

I suggest to active intervention in this game. The fundamental idea should be to pit SCHUSCHNIGG and his Christian-Social forces who are opposed to a dictatorship of the Heimwehr, against STARHEMBERG. The possibility of thwarting the measurers arranged between MUSSOLINI and STARHEMBERG should be afforded to him in such a manner that he would submit to the government the offer of a definite German-Austrian compromise of interests. According to convincing opinion of the leader of the NSDAP in Austria Captain LEOPOLD the totalitarian principal of the NSDAP in Austria must be replaced in the beginning by a combination of that part of the Christian elements which favors the Greater Germany idea and the NSDAP. If Germany recognizes the national independence of Austria and guarantees full freedom to the Austrian national opposition, then as result of such a compromise the Austrian government would be formed in the beginning by a coalitian of these forces. There should follow a gradual disintegration of the barriers erected between the two countries. The rearmament of the army would have to be effected in close cooperation with the German army even if material aid from Germany would be limited. A further consequence of this step would be the possibility of the participation of Germany in the Danube pact which would take the sting out of its acuteness due to settlement of the relations between Germany and Austria. Such a measure would have a most beneficial influence on the European situation and especially on our relationship with England.

One may object that Herr SCHUSCHNIGG will hardly be determined to follow such a pattern, that he will rather in all probability immediately communicate our offer to our opponents.

Of course one should first of all explore the possibility of playing off SCHUSCHNIGG against STARHEMBERG primarily through the use of middlemen. The possibility exists. If Herr SCHUSCHNIGG should finally say "No" and makes our offer known in Rome, then the situation would not be made any worse thereby, but on the contrary, the efforts of the Reich Cabinet to make peace with Austria would be revealed - without prejudice to other interests. Therefore, even in case of refusal, this last attempt would be an asset. I consider it definitely possible that - in view of the far-spread dislike of the Alpine countries for the pro-Italian course, and in view of the sharp tensions within the federal government (Bundesregierung)- Herr SCHUSCHNIGG will grasp this last straw - always under the presupposition that the offer could not be interpreted by the opponents as a trap, but that it bears all the earmarks of a true honest compromise with Austria.

Assuming success of this step, we would have again established our active intervention in central European politics which - as opposed to the French-Czech-Russian political maneuvers, would be a tremendous success, both morally and practically.

Since there are two weeks left in which to accomplish a great deal of work in the way of explorations and conferences, an immediate decision is necessary.

The Reich Defense Minister shares the opinion presented above and the Reich Foreign Minister wanted to discuss it with you my Fuehrer.

signed von PAPEN

To the

Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor

B e r l i n .

H0685-0058

Filed June 17, 1946

H0685-0059

Von PAPEN Document 68

Excerpt from:

Letter by Von PAPEN to ADOLF HITLER of 31 August 1935

Copy

The Ambassador Extraordinary
and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the German Reich on a
Special Mission.

Vienna, 31 August 1935.

No. A 2034

(Three copies for the Foreign Office)

Contents:

An Englishman about Abyssinia and Germany.

The effect of the German - Austrian Press Communique.

. . . . . .

The decisions of the Little Entente in CLEVE with reference to the measures announced against an intended Habsburg restoration have caused great excitement in the government here, as I was able to ascertain in a talk with the Federal Chancellor (Bundeskanzler) which I had today. The following rumor circulated by very serious circles in Vienna, is significant of the extreme nervousness about the entire situation which is prevalent here: Germany, Hungary, and Poland are reported to be negotiating a partition of Czechoslovakia.

(Sgd) PAPEN

To the Fuhrer and Reich Chancellor,

Berlin

by courier.

(Page 163
of Orig.)

Filed June 18th

Von PAPEN Document 69

Excerpt from:

Letter by Von PAPEN to Adolf HITLER of 21 April 1936.

Vienna, 21 April 1936.

The Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary of the
German Reich on special mission.

No. A.21/36.

Contents:

Political Report

(3 copies for the Foreign Office)

. . . . . On the other hand, it can be noticed that the work of the Freedom Union, supported by all elements of the Christian-Social parties, is making further progress. The hopes of this group already go so far today, as to include being able to reform the government in the summer, from which STARHEMBERG will be pushed out and in which they hope to reach an agreement with the national opposition by the inclusion of national personalities. All this is also connected with the reperc[illegible]sions of the Phoenix affair, the filthiness of which sickens the Federal Chancellor [illegible] and the exposure of which has given strong encouragement to the national elements. . . . . .

(signed) PAPEN

to the

Führer and Reich Chancellor,

Berlin.

By Courier.

H0685-0060

Filed June 18

(Page 164
of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 70

vide
PS 243

Excerpt from:

Letter by Von PAPEN to Adolf HITLER of 12 May 1936.

Copy

The Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary of the
German Reich on a special mission.

Vienna, 12 May 1936

No: A 2544

CONFIDENTIAL

Contents:-

May Day demonstration of the Freedom Union.
(3 copies for foreign office).

....The following event is interesting: The Czech Legation Secretary, DOHALSKY made an offer to Herr STAUD (the Leader of the Freedom Union) to place at the disposal of the Freedom Union, on behalf of the Czech Government, any amount of money he needed to support him in the struggle against the Heimwehr. The only condition was that the Freedom Union must guarantee to adopt an anti-German attitude. Herr STAUD refused this demand point blank. This shows in itself how even people in the enemy camp are already judging the new re-grouping of forces.

This further shows the necessity of our continuing to support this movement financially, and, in fact, primarily with a view to its continuing the fight against Jewry. I consider a sum of 100,000.--RM. necessary, which, under certain circumstances, could be put at their disposal in Schillings, and ask for approval of this.

Our connection with the Freedom Union, especially with its leader, STAUD, is already so intimate that I have been asked what personalities the German Government would desire, in case of the introduction of ministers of the national opposition into the cabinet.....

(sgd) PAPEN.

To the
Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor

Berlin.

By Courier.

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of orig.)

von PAPEN Document 71

Fabel June 17

Report by von PAPEN to Adolf HITLER of 16 July 1936.

The Envoy Extraordinary
and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the German Reich on a
Special Mission.

At Present, Berlin W. 9.
Lennestasse 9
16 July 1936.

My Fuehrer!

On 26 July you proposed to the late Field Marshal that I should be sent to Vienna on a temporary mission, for the restoration "of normal and friendly relations."

With the agreement signed on 11 July, the decisive step has been taken in this direction. I know very well how difficult you found it in many respects to take this step. All the more it is - according to my innermost conviction - a first class piece of statesmanship.

The effect in the fields of foreign politics is clearly visible: our friends admire the decision; our enemies must admit that the direction of European politics has slipped out of the French or Franco-English hands into the hands of Germany.

As far as the internal effect of the German-Austrian agreement is concerned, I can state that it was welcomed with great joy, both in Germany and Austria. The Party Members in Austria have assured me that they stand fully disciplined behind the Fuehrer whose step has guaranteed them the future destiny of Germany. To sum up; an enormous spiritual burden has fallen from the German people on both sides of the frontier, who are now aiming at a solution of the German question along new lines.

It has always been a proud feeling for me that you, my Fuehrer, entrusted me, at a critical moment in German history with a task, which embraced the shaping of the fate of Germany as a whole for the future. In these last two years, I have had many bitter disappointments and even personal humiliations on this path. Today, I can feel that the path I followed was not in vain.

Even though the German question will need very careful and considerate handling in the future too, especially after the incredible difficulties which have gone before I would like now, at the end of the task you entrusted to me to lay my office back in your hands.

I thank you, my Fuehrer, for having had the good fortune to work for Germany and your great mission.

signed: PAPEN

To the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor.

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Filed June 18

(Page 166
of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 72

Excerpt from:
Letter by Von PAPEN to ADOLF HITLER of 21 August 1936

Copy!

The Envoy Extraordinary
and Minister Plenipotentiary
of the German Reich
on a special mission.

Vienna, 21 August, 1936

Journal No. A 4551

Contents:

After the Olympic Games.

(Three copies for the Foreign Office)

. . . Lastly, to throw light on the present situation in Austria, I append an extract from an instruction of the Prague Secret Service to its Viennese branc

. . . . " It appears hopeless and also unpractical to us to strive to influence Austrian legitimism or the "Heimwehr" movement. There are, on the other hand, comparatively strong elements in Austrian Catholicism who could - with certain reservations - be called democratic. These elements, which are gradually grouping themselves round the "Freiheitsbund" (Freedom Union) and which are inclined, basically, to work for an agreement with the Social Democrats, represent, in our opinion, that group which would, under certain circumstances, be inclined to bring about a revolution in internationa politics in Austria".

(Signed) PAPEN.

To the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor
Berchtesgaden

by courier.

H0685-0063

Filed June 18

(Page 167 of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 73
(From: 2246-PS-USA.Exh. 67)

Excerpt from:

Report by VON PAPEN to Adolf HITLER of 1 September 1936.

Copy.

The Envoy Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary of the
German Reich on Special
Mission.
No. A. 4801.

Vienna, 1 September 1936.

Contents:
Re the Situation in the Danube region.

... In Austria the events in Spain have had the effect of an extraordinarily heavily stressed front against all influences from Moscow. Ecclesiastical (Innitzer's proclamation) and state authorities repeatedly draw attention to the danger of an advance of Bolshevist influences.

I hear confidentially that the Federal Chancellor (Bundeskanzler) had a detailed discussion with the board of the Freedom Union and Trade Union Society on the 26 Aug. The Federal Chancellor (Bundeskanzler) campaigned for the support of both these powerful organizations, stating that autumn would bring several reshuffles in the government "in which the workers would receive due appreciation".

"I beg you, gentlemen, to support me. I am resolved to continue to dedicate myself to the difficult tasks of our state. I am not thinking of marrying. And the rumours that my alleged bride is demanding that I should retire from politics are untenable and stupid. The agreement with Germany of 11 July was a necessity. Bolshevism stands on the frontiers of our Austria. We must protect ourselves, so that it should not penetrate into our country. In Autumn, we shall have 50,000 regular soldiers. We cannot create a compulsory militia because we have no money for clothing, food and pay. Let us give foreign countries the impression that we are united and let us create a volunteer militia of 200,000. I have spoken with a foreign military expert

H0685-0064

H0685-0065

Von PAPEN Document 73

who explained to me the dangers of Bolshevism. The showdown between the antagonistic ideologies may occur soon. But it is sure to occur within two years at most. Support me, I count on you".

Herr STAUD gave the assurance that the Freedom Union (Freiheitsbund) as a political organization of workers, stood behind the Federal Chancellor (Bundeskanzler). It is, however, certain that it will put forward political counter-demands. . . . .

Signed: Von PAPEN.

To: The Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor

Berlin

By Courier.

Filed June 18, 1946

(Page 169
of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 74

Report by Von PAPEN to Adolf HITLER of 1 June 1937

The Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary of the German Reich
on a Special Mission.

Vienna, 1 June 1937

Journal No. A. 3557.

Stamp:
The Fuehrer has
been informed.

(Handwritten)
1) Mentioned to the Staatssekretaer) yesterday for exact information.
2) to the Files 8.6.
(Initial)

Contents:

The New British Ambassador
in Berlin concerning
(Three copies for the Foreign Office).

On the occasion of the 70 year jubilee of the "Union Club", I had invited the new British Ambassador, Sir Nevile HENDERSON, to dinner. Our talk, of course, very soon touched on the sphere of politics, and it appears to me valuable, as a guide to the character of this new diplomat, to put on paper his attitude towards the Austrian problem.

Sir Nevile stressed first that he was very grateful for the friendly reception which he had met with here everywhere, especially from the Fuehrer. He was in complete agreement with the Fuehrer that Bolshevism was the foremost and greatest danger to the existence of Europe and that this point of view should take precedence over all others.

In England people were beginning to see much more clearly in this connection too, and the desire to understand the new Germany, as well as to come to an agreement with her, had made particular progress during the last few weeks.

When, during the course of the conversation, I explained the German - Austrian problem to the ambassador, as we see it, he said that he was convinced that England fully comprehends - even from the view point of historical perspective alone - the historic necessaity of a solution of this question in the Reich German sense. When I told him further that the British Ambassador in Vienna had a totally different point of view, that he was doing everthing to support the thesis of Austrian independence in London and to make difficulties for the German policy, he admitted that he knew about these views of Sir Walford Selby. "But my opinion is quite different, and I am convinced that my opinion will prevail in London too, only you should not precipitate the solution of this question. It is a question which concerns France more than us, and in which we must have time to correct the French attitude". "But please", the British Ambassador continued, "do not betray to my Viennese colleague that I hold this view".

H0685-0066

H0685-0067

Von PAPEN Document 74

It will be interesting to ascertain whether Sir Nevile HENDERSON will really represent the view mentioned here to his government.

(Signed) PAPEN

To the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor.
Berlin.
By Courier.

Filed June 17

(Page 171
of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 75
(From 1760-PS USA Exh. 57)

From:

File note of Captain LEOPOLD of January 1937 about the inner appeasement of Austria (cited after the affidavit of MESSERSMITH 1760 PS)

....."Captain LEOPOLD submitted a file note about new demands of the Nazis in January 1937, which, although not officially confirmed, were in any case known by the Austrian government, and discussed by it. LEOPOLD's file note contains the following text:

For the inner Appeasement of Austria.

The mutual declaration of the Austrian Federal Government (Bundesregierung) and of the German Reich Government of 11 July 1936 was an act of state of far-reaching importance .....
We Austrian National-Socialists were at first suprised about the conclusion (of the treaty) and its contents. We awaited in complete order the clarification of the inner-political effect of the agreement, which was generally believed by the public to take the form of an announcement of amnesty. It was only when public speeches were given by leading personalities to organizations whose orderly behavior was not so assured as ours, that in an inner-political respect - with the exception of the amnesty announcement - no change in the struggle could be expected, we decided to give voice to our will, namely to continue the struggle if necessary. We wanted to prove above all that we were able to lead the struggle alone, that we had led it for a long time without foreign influence and aid, and that we were proud of this fact .....
Some time has passed in the meantime, and both parties can see clearly. Through the agreement of 11 July the German Reich recognizes the full independence of Austria and repeats the declaration of the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor that the German Reich will never annex Austria by force. The "annexation" of Austria to Germany will therefore never by striven for by Germany, and it is exclusively the business of the Austrian Federal State (Bundesstaates) to decide on this question, and likewise to reach a decision about the form of government and constitution."

H0685-0068

Filed June 17, 1946

(Page 172
of orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 76.

Testimony
Admiral von HORTHY

Questionnaire
Admiral von HORTHY

To the
General Secretary of the International
Tribunal
Nuernberg

I, Dr. KUBUSCHOK, defense counsel of the defendant von PAPEN herewith request the interrogation of the following named witness by means of a questionnaire:
former Hungarian Regent (Reichsverweser), Admiral von HORTHY,
In accordance with the notification of 14 February I request to direct the following questions to the witness by means of the questionnaire:

1.) Can the witness give a picture about the political aims of the defendant during his Vienna activity on the basis of frequent sincere political discussions?

Question 1: Yes

a) Is it correct that the defendant only strove for an evolutionary solution of the German-Austrian question and refuted any forcible solution?

a: Yes

b) Did the defendant limit himself to this task or did he in excess of this engage in a policy of expansion with regard to the whole Southeast?

b: I know PAPEN better for reason that he was a competitive horseback rider at the same time as my younger brother and a good friend of his. I therefore know, that PAPEN first refused when HITLER offered him the position of ambassador at the time, and then only wanted to accept if HITLER were to assure him in writing that no force would be used.

H0685-0069

H0685-0070

c) Did he at any time even hint at such a policy, or perhaps submitted suggestions to you on the part of the Reich government in the execution of this policy, which were to move Hungary to a particiation in an attack on Czechoslovakia under the promise of territorial advantages?

c: I do not know this. As far as Hungary was concerned, I know that he did not have any intentions.

2.) Did the defendant participate in any way in the subsequent German-Hungarian negotiations, which led to the alliance of Hungary to the Axis Powers and her entry into the war?

Question 2: I have never talked with PAPEN about this matter.

3.) Is it correct that the witness on the basis of his personal relations with the defendant informed the latter in November 43 about the unauthorized interference of the NSDAP in interior Hungarian conditions, that he (witness) had a document pertaining to this submitted to him (PAPEN) through Minister KERESHEY-FISCHER, and that the latter (PAPEN) immediately informed the Reich Foreign Minister of this with the request for investigation and disposition of such subversive activity? How did the witness obtain knowledge of the latter incident?

Question 3: I have no knowledge of it. In Hungary the ministers are responsible for the politics. Matters which were not of great importance were not reported to me.

Interrogator:

signed: Warren H. METZNER
1st Lt. Warren H. METZNER
MII Team 437

Witness: GUS M. MOORE
1st Lt. GUS M. MOORE
Public Safety Officer

Filed June 18

H0685-0071

von PAPEN Document 78

(Page 174
of original)

Excerpt from

Dokumente der Deutschen Politik

Volume 6, Part I

1939

Publishers - JUNKER and DUENNHAUPT/Berlin

Page 124

Official German report of 15 February 1938 concerning the meeting of the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor with the Austrian Bundes Chancellor Dr. SCHUSCHNIGG at Berchtesgaden (on 12th February).

. . . . . In the discussion, which took place on 12 February at Obersalsburg near Berchtesgaden, between the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor and the Bundes Chancellor Dr. SCHUSCHNIGG all questions pertaining to German - Austrian relations were thoroughly discussed. It was the aim of this discussion to clear up the difficulties which had come up during the execution of the treaty of 11 July 1936.

It was mutually agreed that both sides are determined to keep to the fundamental principles of this treaty and regard the same as the point of departure for a satisfactory development of relations between the two States. In this sense the discussion of 12 February 1938, both parties decided therefore upon the immediate execution of measures which, would guarantee a close and friendly relationship between the two countries, corresponding to the history and the total interest of the German people. Both statesmen are convinced that the measures decided upon by them at the same time will be an effective contribution to the peaceful development of the European situation. The Austrian Government has issued a similar communiqué.

H0685-0072

Filed June 18

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of original)

Von PAPEN Document 79

from:

Calendar SCHULTHESS' of European History.

(Europaeischer Geschichtskalender.)

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20th February (Reichstag) In a long speech the Fuehrer and Reich Chancellor renders an account of the first five years of National Socialist reconstruction, explains the general situation and develops his future program . . . .
I am happy to be able to inform you, my deputies, that during the past few days a further understanding has been reached with the country which for many reasons is particularly close to us. They are not only the same people, but above all they have a longstanding equal history and a common culture, which bind together the Reich and German Austria. The difficulties, which had resulted in carrying out the treaty of 11 July, made it imperative to undertake an effort to remove, misunderstandings and obstacles to a final reconciliation. For it was clear that a situation which in itself had become unbearable, could some day willy-nilly, have developed into the prerequisite of a very severe catastrophe. For then it usually no longer lies in the power of humans to check a fate which has been set in motion through carelessness or stupidity. I am happy to have been able to ascertain that these realizations corresponded also to the opinions of the Austrian Bundes Chancellor whom I have asked to visit me. It was the idea and the intention to bring about an easing of tension in our relations.

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by giving equal rights, such as are accorded to other citizens, to the National Socialist minded portion of the German-Austrian people, according to their conception and ideology. In this connection a great pacification drive was to take place through a general ammesty and a better understanding between the two States, brought about by closer friendly relations in the various fields of a political, personal and practical economic cooperation. All this supplementary within the framework of the agreement of 11 July. At this point, before the German people, I would like to express to the Austrian Bundes Chancellor my sincere gratitude for the great understanding and the warmhearted readiness with which he accepted my invitation and made an effort to find with me a path which lies just as much in the interest of both countries as in the interest of the whole German nation; of that whole German nation, whose sons we all are, no matter where the cradle of our homeland stood. (Loud cheers) I believe that we have thereby also contributed to European peace. The most definite proof for the correctness of this assumption lies in the indignant anger of those democratic worldcitizens, who, while they otherwise always talk of peace do not allow an opportunity to pass of inciting to war. They are infuriated and angry over this work of understanding. One can therefore justly assume that it is good and proper. Perhaps this example will help to bring about to a greater extent a gradual relaxation in European tension. Supported by her friendships, Germany will in any case leave nothing untried in order to rescue that blessing which brings forth the prerequisite for those tasks which hover before us also in the future, namely peace.

Filed June 18, 1946

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Von PAPEN Document 80

From: Das Archiv

Reference work for Politics - Economy - Culture
(Nachschlagewerk fuer Politik - Wirtschaft - Kultur)

Published by Alfred-Ingemar Berndt
Ministerialrat

Deputy Press Chief of the Reich Cabinet

compiled by
Ernst Jaenicke
Chief of the Gau Press Office
of the Gau Berlin of NSDAP

Verlagsanstalt Otto Stollberg, Berlin W 9.

Page 1697

Sa 16 March 1938

Belgium and the annexation of Austria

The Belgian Minister of Foreign affairs, SPAAK made the following statement in the Chamber of Deputies concerning the union of Austria with the Reich:

"The union of Austria with Germany appears to be an ACCOMPLISHED pact. For various reasons, neither Italy nor France nor England were able or desired to appose it. The Belgian Government which was informed about the event by the German Ambassador and the Austrian Ambassador could rarely take note of this communication. I am a determined supporter of the independence of peoples and their rightof self- determination. I will not express an opinion of the causes of the problem with the rudiments of which I am not familiar. I have believed for a long time that the annexation corresponds to the LOGIC OF FACTS and if it would have been accomplished in a normal way, I would not have been astounded about it. .....

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Filed June 18, 1946

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Von PAPEN Document 81

Extract
from
"NEUES WIENER TAGBLAT"

No. 92, Vienna, Sunday, 3 April 1938
State Chancellor (retired) Dr. RENNER "I vote"

One of our co-operators had the opportunity yesterday to question former State Chancellor Dr. Karl RENNER about the forthcoming plebiscite. The latter answered the question put to him as follows:

"State Chancellor, are you, prepared to express your opinion about plebiscte?"

"As first Chancellor of German-Austria, I put the motion to the National Assembly on 12 November 1918 and obtained almost unanimous acceptance: "German-Austria is a part of the German Republic." I fought for many months, as President of the Peace Delegation at St. Germain, for the annexation - the distress in the country and the occupation of the frontiers by the enemy compelled the National Assembly and also me to submit to the humiliation of the Peace Treaty and the prohibition of the annexation. Nevertheless I have continued the fight for annexation since 1919 in numerous writings and innumerable meetings in the country and the Reich. Nevertheless the annexation has been achieved although not obtained with those methods which I acknowledge. It is a historical fact and I consider it a true satisfaction for the humiliation in 1918 and 1919, for St. Germain and Versailles. I should deny my entire part as a theoretical Champion for the rights of self-determination of the nations, as well as German-Austrian statesman, if I would not welcome with glad heart the great historical fact of re-union of the German nations!"

"Chancellor, were you not a friend of a Danube confederation?

"To this I say: the alternative was put already to the first meeting of the provisional National Assembly: We are prepared to discuss with the liberated Danube peoples about a union, if they

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did not desire same or only under conditions, which were against our honor, we shall return to the Reich. The direct answer to the presented alternative was given by the neighbors through the occupation by force of German districts and through the undermining of our economy. Austria has given a worthy reply on 12 November 1918 by announcing the annexation. This alternative was raised for the second time less by Austria then by the great powers. The idea of the so called policy of the Danube area was mentioned many times after signing of the peace. It should open to Austria a new economic future and the exit from the suffocating narrowness of the customs union and thus make the national renunciation more bearable through economic advantages. The scorned does not reject any possible way out. In his economic atrophy and his external political powerlessness, the country pursued such proposals certainly with interest. One has played with this idea for nearly twenty years and not a single step was done for its realization and one has made it obsurd in the end through ridiculous begimistic harrassing, so that the warmest friend of the Danube area policy had to turn away from this second alternative.

Now, this twenty-year Odyssey of the Austrian people is finished, it returns in a body to the initial point, to its solemn declaration of will of 12 November. The sad interlude of the half century 1866 to 1918 thus is submerged in our common history of a thousand years."

"How then will you and your adherents vote?"

"I have no authority to speak for the latter but can declare: As a Social-Democrat and thus defender of the right of self-determination of nations, as the first Chancellor of the German-Austrian Republic and as the former President of your Peace Delegation at St. Germain I shall vote "AYE".

Filed June 19, 1946

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Von PAPEN Document 82

From: Schulthess!

Calendar of European History

Published by Ulrich Thuerauf

New Series. 54th Consecutive Year

1938

C. H. Beck Book Publishing Agency

Munich 1939

1 April. The Protestant High Consistory (Oberkirchenrat) of Austria has passed a resolution.

which is being read in all Protestant churches, and which states inter alia: The German people of Austria are summoned on 10 April to show to all the world by fair and free plebiscite that the return to the Reich and thereby the political reconstruction of our homeland corresponds to the deepest longing and wish of the people. Our Protestant Church in Austria has always shared in this profound wish regardless of the favor or disfavor of former rulers. The Protestant Church in Austria has already on 12 March and later repeatedly expressed its sincere joy regarding this historical turning point. ... A Christian Church, which insists immovably on its spiritual basic principles, as the German people's reformation has again revealed them, must acknowledge this. We support without reservation the work of the Fuehrer, and thank God that he has brought salvation to the German people in their most difficult hour."

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Filed June 19, 1946

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of Orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 83

From: FAILURE OF A MISSION

Berlin 1937-1939

By The Right Hon.

SIR NEVILE HENDERSON
P.C. G.C.M.G.

London

Hodder and Stoughton LTD.

Page 122

....Nevertheless I still do not believe, any more than I did at the time, that the rape of Austria in the form/in which it finally took place and on the date/on which it occurred was definitely premeditated, Hitler would have preferred to incorporate his native Austria into Germany by what he regarded as peaceful means. However clear in his mind he may have been as to his ultimate ends, the decision as to the means for achieving them always depended upon the development of events, and was never taken till the last moment.

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of Orig.)

Von PAPEN Document 84

Filed June 19, 1946

THE TIME FOR DECISION

by
Sumner WELLES

Overseas edition for the Armed Forces.

Page 100

. . . . "No country," Count CIANO declared, "would want to have Germany as a neighbor. Italy now has her as a neighbor and we must do the best we can to get on with her.

"You will wonder why Italy did nothing at the time of Dollfuss' assassination and nothing later when HITLER occupied Austria. I will tell you, for there is a great deal of misunderstanding on that score. There are many people in Austria today who are unhappy, who are tormented, many who wish that HITLER's kind of Anschluss had not taken place. But, as an Italian, I tell you the great majority of Austrians would even today rather be a part of Germany than have to live a life of starvation and of progressive exhaustion they were forced to lead in independent Austria.

"Before the occupation of Austria, Dr. SCHUSCHNIGG came to Rome. He admitted to me frankly that, if Germany occupied Austria, the majority of Austrians would support the occupation and if Italy sent troops into Austria to prevent the occupation, the Austrians as one man would join with the Germans to fight Italy.

"For that reason, when peace terms are considered, it would be stupid - except on one condition - to support the French thesis that an independent Austria must be reconstituted. An independent Austria can be successful only if the Austrian people are given a real chance to live and a new opportunity to develop a stable and prosperous country.

"If any country could logically desire the reconstitution of an independent Austria, it would be Italy. But Italy knows that the Austrians are primarily German and that the Austrian people will never be content to go back to the state of inanition and of lingering death which they endured for twenty years after 1918.". . ... . .

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Filed June 17, 1946

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Von PAPEN Document 85

Dr. Willy Glasebock
Amtsgerichtsrat

Radevormwald, 8 May 1946
Bahnhofstrasse 20.

Statement in Lieu of Oath.

I have been in close relation politically to Reich Chancellor (retired) Von PAPEN in his capacity as leader of the "Fighting Front of Conservative Catholics of Germany" and as chairman of the "Working Community of West German Provincial Catholic Committees of the German-National People's Party". In the beginning of 1933 several discussions took place at Duesseldorf and Berlin between Herr Von PAPEN and myself regarding pending political questions. On this occasion I gained the certainty, soothing to us conservative Catholics, that Herr Von PAPEN, as an Orthodox Catholic, was firmly determined to represent the Catholic principles vigorously in the Hitler government, and that he would not make any concessions to the National-Socialist State in Church matters which were not in accordance with the teachings of the Church.

After a fairly long interval I saw Herr Von PAPEN again in Berlin in 1940. On this occasion we agreed on a personal meeting, which took place several days later, on 2 November 1940, at Herr Von PAPEN's residence at Lennéstrasse, the former Vice-Chancellor's official residence. I can state the following regarding the course of this discussion in virtue of notes which I made immediately afterwards:

> First of all I expressed to Herr Von PAPEN my great anxiety regarding the political developments since the year 1933. In this respect I especially mentioned numerous violations of the laws of the National - Socialist State in the Field of foreign and domestic policy, as well as its purposeful struggle against the Christian Churches. I then addressed to Herr Von PAPEN the open question, if we conservative Catholics could still consider him our confidant now as before, in spite of his connection with the National-Socialist State. Herr Von PAPEN stated in reply that he shared our anxiety fully and completely. He had not changed his political views since

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1933, and he was not even thinking of doing so in the future. He had remained the same conservative Catholic which he had always been. The development of National-Socialism and the conditions in the "Third Reich" contrasted in many and decisive points with his fundamental conceptions. In particular the attitude of the State toward the Church, as toward Christendom as a whole, filled him with the most profound anxiety. If despite all this he occupied a high position in this State and remained at his post, then this was for the following reason:

In his present post - Ambassador at Ankara - although his official activity and influence were limited to the foreign-political sector, he nevertheless had in this way the possibility of exercising some if only a weak unofficial influence on happenings in the National-Socialist State. For example he had occasionally personal admission to Hitler, who was almost completely cut off from the outside world by his immediate circle. These opportunities, which however were constantly becoming more rare he was using to present to the highest authority of the Reich the anxieties and wishes of the non-National-Socialist portion of the German people, and in this manner to remove some of the dangers or at least to prevent one or other doubtful State measures. If he were to leave his post, then the result would presumably be that a declared Party man would take his place, and the influence which he had been able to exercise in the direction of the Christian and conservative ideas would no longer be possible. As things stood, his remaining in office, although it was a great sacrifice for him, was necessary in the interests of the cause, in particular the reestablishment of peace.

Herr Von PAPEN then described to me the difficulties of his position. He was far from being approved of by the Party. He was being watched by the Gestapo. Two of his closest colleagues - Edgar Jung and Baron

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Von Ketteler - had been murdered. A third person had only been able to save himself from the Gestapo by fleeing to England. As a significant example of his being watched, Herr Von PAPEN added: When in the spring of 1940 he had made his Eastern Communion at a French cloister with his family, this fact had already immediately been reported to the Foreign Office by the authorities who were shadowing him.

I wish to point out other additional factors: The conversation took place privately between the two of us. A large crucifix stood on the writing-desk of Herr Von PAPEN, a fact, which at that time made a great impression on me, since it bore witness that the former Vice-Chancellor of the Third Reich still made no attempt to hide his convistions, even 1940 in consideration of the danger the conversation being overheard by outsiders, the discussion took place for the most part in whispers.

s/ Dr. Willy Glasebock

Signature Certified correct.

Radevormwald, 9 May 1946,

The Burgomaster

I.A. s/ signature
Town Inspector.

Stamp

Town of Radevormwald.

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H0685-0083

5 June 1946

We, E.M. WITT Brit. Civ., 344289 and Wanda S. TIESZEN, Civ., X 046265, hereby certify that we are thoroughly conversant with the English and German languages; and that the above is a true and correct translation of the original document.

E.M. WITT
Brit. Civ. 344289

Wanda S. TIESZEN
Civ. X 046265.